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United Nations Reform

"THE ISSUE is not the Jews or the Arabs; it is the validity and effectiveness of our international machinery for peace," said David Morse, Under-Secretary of Labor, and this validity, tested as never before by the present Palestine situation, is also undergoing a thorough questioning.

Ely Culbertson's plan for the revision of the UN Charter was introduced into the Senate on April 12th by Senator Homer Ferguson, and had the bipartisan support of sixteen other senators and fourteen representatives, as well as of large and well-organized Citizens Committees for UN Reform. This plan's ABC points—(1) elimination of the veto in matters of aggression, and of admission of new members; (2) adoption by UN of the American plan for UN control of atomic energy; and (3) the establishment of a world police force—has, in Committee, been softened to a plan for "some Congressional expression on which there could be wide agreement."

Meantime, Mr. Churchill, at a privately sponsored Congress of Europe at the Hague, in his inimitable prose declared that "nothing we do or plan here conflicts with the paramount authority of a world organization of the United Nations. I have always believed that a Council of Europe was a subordinate, but necessary part." And he suggested there should be "several regional councils, august but subordinate."

This projected Western Alliance within the UN, "for the purpose of economic cooperation and collective self-defense," has been unanimously approved by a resolution of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee. This pledges the United States to promote such regional councils as Mr. Churchill suggested; and further to work toward a curbing of the veto, to work towards providing the UN with armed forces, and if necessary, to work towards calling a conference to revise the Charter. Senator Vandenberg, in combination with the State Department, is behind this resolution. Senator Warren Austin, speaking this week, stated that he did not think any revision necessary: he said UN had plenty of teeth if it would learn to use them.

The United World Federalists, Inc., under the presidency of Cord Meyer, Jr., advocates federation within the UN under Article 51, to fortify the political and military strength of its members by transfer of military forces as authorized by Article 43, and by widening the basis of international law. It would seem to differ from Mr. Culbertson's ABC plan only in emphasis, in regarding the veto question as less important than the question of an international police force.

It is a sign of the inevitability of some form of larger association that there should be so many propositions, and this variety of plan is all to the good. Polls have shown that here some 87% of American citizens are for UN, in spite of its haverings, of its sad record, and of the tragic precedent of the ci-devant League of Nations. Since Napoleon's day, there have been several disastrous attempts to unify the World, but these have only increased the necessity and heightened the tempo of a process that is a natural one, a coiling in of the springs upon themselves, caused by technical developments and economic necessities, as well as by the inevitable march of populations locusting through time.

We cannot stay the process, but we can alter it, and influence: the kind of UN we have is ours to choose right now.

"Once to every man and nation
Comes the moment to decide,"

Lowell wrote, and this is that moment in the life of the United Nations. It is a hopeful sign that the good old American form of spectator-participation known as lobbying, has worked so far for UN in such good stead: whatever hopes

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there are for a reformed UN, indeed, for any UN, are due to the pressure of informed citizens, of earnest, pedantic, boring groups of serious-minded, plodding men and women of good will here, and also in Europe. Mock on, the poet Blake bade Voltaire and Rousseau, mock on . . .

"t'is all in vain
You throw the dust against the wind
And the wind throws it back again."

Against the League of Nations, the dust of Nazism and Fascism did indeed prevail; whether the dust of Communist ill-will and our reaction to it prevails over UN will be determined entirely by the power of the wind of public opinion. Whether UN becomes World Government or world Ghost depends on U. S.

Post-Nationalism

THE NEW phase of the cold war—the relaxing, consolidating, softening, beguiling period; or whatever interval it may fundamentally be (see Christopher Emmet's view on page 182)—is reflected even in the atmosphere of personal switches of loyalty, which in rougher months would be classified as betrayals. The Hungarian Minister to Washington, Rustem Vambery, announced his resignation from office and disillusion with his country's Communist-captive Government and his decision to become an American citizen quite peacefully and calmly, under the benign gaze of Andrews Sik, old Party member, who was the "counselor of the legation," and is now to be Vambery's successor. Neither Sik nor the Communist press and governments have gone to work assassinating old liberal Vambery's non-competitive, America-inclining character.

There was more drama but not much more bitterness about the American Sergeant McMillin's disappearance from duty into the bosom of communist Muscovy. The Russians say that McMillin developed so strong a disapproval of America's capitalistic warmongering (and all) that he made the political decision to switch over to Russia's communistic heaven bringing. The State Department claims he was "seduced and exploited" by the Soviet, operating through a certain Galina Dunaeva Biconish—young and a ballerina, whose name, to those who don't know Russian, could sound like some kind of Slavic joke.

There still remain in Europe, we understand, more than 900,000 Displaced Persons, who are for practical purposes stateless. They have decided against their pre-war citizenship, or their pre-war countries have decided against them. Nationality is not as absolute thing, and it is less binding and more fluid steadily. The day of the idolized national state is well past noon. All surveys indicate that an astonishingly high percentage of Europeans—citizens of even the greatest and richest of the nineteenth century states—would quickly and gladly, if they could, emigrate to other lands and form new citizenship, a new patriotism, new loyalties. The last war and the way it appeared to be organized according to the old pattern of national, fighting states, does not mean, when studied more intently, that nationalism continues to dominate the hearts and minds of men as it did a war or two ago. Excessive nationalism is archaic, as theorists can think now with clearer mind, and as persons acting naturally prove with multiplying examples of non-nationalistic behavior.

It is unhappily evident that the principal force supplanting nationalism at the present time is not a peaceful and generous force working for the good of society. Rather, it appears to be a complex partisanship, a driving power embodying ideology and material interests which operates on an ever widening geographic front with ever decreasing relationship to old national boundaries. Mr. Mundt's distinctions about a totalitarian movement directed from a ruling center outside the territorial limits of the United States serve most realistically as a circumlocution for the communist driving force which does not recognize territorial limits. When the Communists of Jugoslavia or Rumania or Bulgaria or of Russia itself attack and kill or imprison or starve their "nationals" for complicity with foreign warmongers, their attacks are directed not only against this national state, but against the driving power of constitutional government and liberty in social, economic and political life within their own national zone as well as in the countries outside their rule. The battle is obviously super-national.

But not only the battle is super-national, not only the enmities and contests between the communist and democratic ways of living and outlook on the world. Creative efforts, and human sympathies also reach across boundaries, and the material and institutional techniques of maintaining life. If they are stopped at national barriers they are mortally injured within the national boundaries. There is no safety from the international ideological war and from the controversy of communist versus democrat in reversion to a hard and fast nationalism. No national veto is going to solve the problem of enriching more local patriotism and culture while engendering a wider understanding and responsibility and cooperative action to perform the jobs the old states cannot accomplish. For Christians, certainly, the ideal is the "Planetary Christianity" which increasingly seems the only alternative to no-Christianity. The realization is getting into action, as news of the fluidity of citizenship and national loyalty repeatedly shows, and it is obtaining fuller and clearer expression in word and idea, such evidence as the Paris Cardinal's Pastoral (reported by Claire Bishop on page 190) demonstrates.

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The Jam in Congress

THE LIST of bills which Congress has to tackle in the next three weeks in order to clear the decks before the political conventions is overwhelming. What can our Washington legislators have been doing the last five months? Making every allowance for the complexity of the decisions that have confronted them and the time required by committee hearings, it would seem that Congress might have reached the home stretch with definitive action on a decent portion of the major issues.

Most maddenng of all the delays has been the hold-up of legislation permitting entry into the country of a due share of European displaced persons—not only for the sake of these undaunted foes of totalitarianism themselves but also to achieve European recovery. Leaders in all walks of life long advocated the Stratton Bill, while every sort of civic, professional and religious organization firmly supported it. More than twenty states have set up plans for receiving these displaced persons in order to enable them to start life anew and quickly to become self-supporting. Yet the two-year-old Stratton Bill was killed and the House and Senate have not yet come to an agreement on a more pallid substitute.

In several instances the two bodies appear to be at cross purposes—to the marked detriment of the national well-being. The Senate finally passed the urgently needed Taft-Ellender-Wagner Housing Bill only to have the House Banking Committee demand so many changes (reputedly under pressure of the real estate lobby) that the whole thing is hopelessly held up. And thus the government still fails to supply the low-cost home-building program to help meet the people's direst immediate need. Likewise House passage of the bill repealing the tax on oleomargarine—another sound measure—so stirred up the nation's dairy interests that they are feuding with cotton and tobacco growers and exerting such pressure on the Senate that any major farm legislation is out this session. The Aiken and Hope Bills would have set up machinery to assure stability in commodity prices and underwrite soil conservation practices which are of increasingly desperate national and world importance.

The question of revision of the United Nations organization—discussed elsewhere in these pages—also finds House and Senate sharply at odds. Also still unsettled is extension of the expiring Reciprocal Trade Agreement Act, which embodies such potentialities for international economic recovery and our own sustained prosperity. House Republicans seek to limit extension to a one year period, which would serve as a warning to the nations that in '49, under an all-Republican government, the United States would embark on a new high-tariff policy—despite plain lessons.

Congressional leaders can report some headway in the matter of the draft in that for the time being universal military training has been set aside. The adoption of selected service to provide the numbers upon which the military are insistent is complicated by a dispute over segregation of Negroes in the army. Just as the House is holding up the appropriation of federal funds for education, which has been approved by the Senate, so the Senate is not expected to take action this session on the Mundt-Nixon Bill, directed against Communist activities.

The pending legislation mentioned to this point, including as it does questions inspiring the most vigorous debate, gives a partial glimpse of what confronts Congress before the opening of the Republican convention, June 21. The pile-up is not an unmixed calamity. Legislation for the benefit of private interests such as the House bill giving sovereignty over tidal oil lands to the several states may simply be crowded out of the Senate calendar. But in addition to some of the vital measures cited above, which are in danger of being snowed under, there are other desirable items which will never leave home plate. Enactment of an up-to-date minimum wage law, civil rights legislation (including anti-lynch and anti-poll-tax laws) and a revised social security tax schedule has no chance. Will Congress even manage to push through the necessary appropriations for government agencies everyone agrees should continue to operate?

In short, the Republican leadership in Congress has compiled such a record that if the Democrats had a strong candidate with a strong platform the contest in November would be in considerable doubt.

N. B.

FROM *People & Freedom,* founded by Don Luigi Sturzo and published monthly in London "for Christian Democrats of all Countries": "At Nuremberg, the question of Guernica was resolved once for all when in 1945 Goering admitted that its destruction had been a try-out for the newly reconstituted *Luftwaffe*. The Prosecution has now accepted President Aguirre's charges against Marshal Sperrle, as commander of the Condor Legion which destroyed the historic city."

* * *

From the New York *Herald Tribune*: "Boris Kreiger, Slovene Minister of the Interior . . . complained that only 25 per cent of Slovene priests had joined the Liberation Front, and warned priests that they must decide whether to enlist with it or with foreign espionage." Modern life grows simpler when every child that's born alive is either a Front man or a spy—with no other choice to recognize.

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Big Farm Strike

A Report on the Labor Dispute at the Di Giorgio's

Ernesto Galarza

THE Di Giorgio Fruit Corporation's 12,000 acre ranch in Kern County, 18 miles from Bakersfield, California, is one of the largest enterprises of its kind in the United States. It is the backbone of a $20,000,000 business owned by Joseph Di Giorgio's family corporation. Di Giorgio requires some 1,200 employees to operate this ranch. At the peak of the season he hires additional field hands and packers.

The majority of Di Giorgio's employees were once small farmers and sharecroppers blown out of Arkansas and Oklahoma by the dust storms of a decade ago. They are of self-reliant American stock, used to hard work, with large families and good credit at the grocery store. Among them is a sprinkling of Mexicans, many of whom have long records of service with Di Giorgio. On October 1, 1947, over 1,100 of these workers called a strike. They had organized a union and had voted to strike for union recognition, collective bargaining and better pay.

The strike, now in its eighth month, has lifted the curtain on the next act of the "Grapes of Wrath." In California's Central Valley, the homesteader and the family farm are yielding to the assembly line methods of corporations like Di Giorgio's. The man with the hoe is being pushed out by the mechanical cotton picker and the potato digger. Farming in Kern County has become a complicated operation involving heavy investments and expensive machinery; financial connections with the big money pools of San Francisco, Los Angeles and New York; national and international marketing; advertising, public relations; contacts in the state legislature and in Congress; and many other elements that the little man of the soil cannot afford and barely understands.

The Di Giorgio field and packing shed "hands" are the by-products of this process. At the low point of the agricultural year in California (March 30 in 1946) major seasonal crop operations required 69,000 workers. At the high point (September 7) requirements rose to 244,000. Between these peaks lies the valley of insecurity in which the Di Giorgio strikers, and hundreds of thousands like them, are forced to spend what the California Welfare Code euphemistically calls "seasons of repose." These figures, and the rural slums that pock the Central Valley, help to explain the Di Giorgio strike. The four freedoms have given way to the four fears—fear of competition for the job; fear of inadequate wages; fear of unemployment; and fear of destitution!

These fears are harder to endure because the Di Giorgio workers are not entitled to compensation for unemployment, social security or accident benefits. Di Giorgio and the other corporations in his class have seen to that. Their powerful lobbies, representing finance farming, have obtained exemptions from Congress and from the state legislature on the pretense that they are "little fellows" struggling along on 40 acres and a mule.

Joseph Di Giorgio keeps a silent watch on the picket line from a vantage point 3,000 miles away at his headquarters, 66 Harrison St., New York City. He contends, through his lawyers, that, "There is no strike. There are no issues." But the determination of the men and women who have kept vigil on a 20 mile picket line for more than seven months has forced Di Giorgio to recognize that there is a strike, a problem and an issue.

Di Giorgio has recognized the facts of the situation in deeds, if not in words.

> The Corporation has hired hundreds of strike breakers.
>
> It has used Mexican contract workers, imported from Mexico under the auspices of the Mexican and United States governments, to work behind the picket line.
>
> It has harbored a mob that set upon and beat peaceful union pickets.
>
> It has presented misleading sworn statements by foremen and field bosses posing as ordinary day laborers, happy with conditions as they are.
>
> It has employed illegal Mexican workers smuggled into this country in violation of the law.
>
> It has refused to sit down with state and federal conciliators.
>
> It has tried to prejudice citizens of good will against the union by distributing a statement entitled, "A Community Aroused."
>
> It has attacked the strikers before Congress and before the nation through the Congressional Record.
>
> It has organized hostile public demonstrations against relief caravans sent by organized labor to aid the strikers.

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It has caused to be published full page newspaper advertisements stating its side of the case.

It has persuaded the state legislature to investigate the union for alleged communist activities.

It has sent agents to Texas to enlist and employ strike breakers.

These are characteristic signs of industrial conflict. They represent management's resistance to organized economic pressure from the workers. On the record they show that Di Giorgio's key position against the union—"there is no strike" —has been made untenable.

There is a strike. The corporation can no longer blink at this fact. But the case of the corporation has rested not only on this refusal to face the immediate, obvious issue. The corporation has counted heavily on several behind-the-scenes factors which it hopes will eventually crush the union. These factors are: the reservoir of strike breakers; the use of violence; the backlog of unemployment in the Central Valley; the reserve of unemployed workers outside the state; the specter of relief; the use of illegal Mexican workers; the legal importation of Mexican contract workers; the use of local Mexican labor; mechanization; the elimination of government management of the labor supply camps; Congressional investigation; the provocation of community sentiment against the union; and the oblique use of race prejudice to separate the workers and divide them into mutually hostile groups.

Some of these elements are within the power of the corporation to direct and control. Others arise out of economic and social conditions which can be exploited to the disadvantage of the strikers. Taken together they throw light not only on the strike but also on the fundamental problems out of which it arose.

The corporation has now in its employ hundreds of "scabs". They pass through the picket lines in the presence of a heavy police guard that is on duty at all times. The sheriff's supply of reserve arms and strike breaking equipment is kept in a trailer just inside the corporation yard. The strike breakers are a mixed lot. They include Anglo-Americans from Arkansas and Oklahoma, Filipinos, illegal Mexicans and Mexicans who had worked in the area many years. Di Giorgio has drawn his strike-breaking crews from the "skid rows" of the valley towns and from Texas. Signed statements are on record showing that many of these men were hired without knowledge of the strike.

As long as the corporation can successfully cross hundreds of strike-breakers through the picket line it will probably refrain from using violence. It has not always been so considerate. On one occasion a mob of forty persons ran out of the corporation yard armed with tire irons and clubs and severely beat three pickets. The day before this incident took place Di Giorgio had organized a motorized column against the relief caravan sent by California trade unions. As the caravan passed the main gates of the Di Giorgio ranch, a hostile line of trucks and cars moved in the opposite direction on the same road. The demonstration was apparently intended to provoke mass violence, which was avoided by the presence of mind of the caravan leaders. While the strikers are determined to keep the peace on the picket line, they have been forewarned that violence may be used again.

★

Unemployment throws its shadow over the men and women who are holding the Di Giorgio picket line. On March 5, an official of the state employment department stated that there were 50,000 unemployed in seven valley counties. This figure included all types of labor. Other authoritative sources placed the figure of unemployed agricultural workers at around 40,000.

It would not be far off to say that on the basis of all available estimates, there were in California during the first week of March over 40,000 unemployed farm workers whose demand for a job was registered at some point. "Registered at some point" are words intended to point out that the figure does not cover certain groups which form an important part of the labor supply of the state. These groups are: Mexican nationals who have "skipped" their contracts and remain illegally in this country; Mexican illegal workers who have been smuggled across the border; and thousands of men and women of all groups who are in transit on trains, in buses and in their own dilapidated cars at any given moment of the slack season.

The foregoing groups, taken together, represent the pool of unemployment that the large agricultural corporation regards as desirable for profitable operations. They represented a reservoir of some 75,000 men and women from which Di Giorgio can draw fresh supplies for his strike breaking crews.

For the finance of farmers like Di Giorgio, another sign of a favorable labor market is the increasing demand for public assistance by workers. Relief is the device by which responsibility for indigent workers, caught in the valley of destitution between the peaks of employment, is spread over the whole community. On March 21, more than 1,600 penniless families were reported in the Coalinga-Huron area of Fresno County. Service clubs, the Red Cross and the Salvation Army were supplying food, fuel and clothing to these families on that date. In Merced County 300 families were reported stranded and

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without means of subsistence. A drive was being conducted by the Elks Club of the county seat to provide clothing for children who could not otherwise attend school.

"Stuck between harvests without food, clothing or funds," is the way the situation was described in Bakersfield on March 26 by a local newspaper. Relief workers in that area reported that in the vicinity of Di Giorgio's operations, families had been found who had not eaten for two or three days. Mexican families in Shafter were keeping their young children at home because they could not feed or clothe them adequately.

California's prolonged drought has been blamed by many for these appalling conditions. However, it is also widely recognized that an unprecedented immigration has taken place coincidentally with the drought. Many of these recent comers, according to the San Francisco *Examiner* of March 29, "were lured into the valley by false reports of free rooming and plenty of work." With county relief budgets near exhaustion and with the state government reluctant to declare a relief emergency, which it had the power to do under the law, it can be understood why the Di Giorgio Corporation is complacent about a plentiful labor supply on its own terms.

Throughout the strike Di Giorgio has also resorted to the use of workers smuggled from Mexico. On February 20, federal immigration officials raided the ranch and picked up 45 illegals for deportation. In another raid, carried out on April 1, another 30 of these men who had been working behind the picket line with Di Giorgio's knowledge and consent, were arrested. It is a commonly accepted view in California that these raids are not effective in eliminating the employment of illegal Mexican labor. Di Giorgio is a good illustration. Mexican residents in Arvin and Lamont report that a few days after the illegals are arrested they re-appear at the ranch, perhaps under another name, and are again hired.

The advantages to Di Giorgio in the employment of illegals are obvious. The Mexicans are in no position to bargain for wages with the corporations. They do not speak English. They are completely ignorant of any legal obligations that the employer may have with respect to them. They cannot file claims of any kind because of their illegal status. They cannot invoke the protection of the Mexican consul. They are, in short, perfect strike breakers.

Di Giorgio, like all the finance farmers of whom he is an outstanding example, can still play another formidable card against the union. He can hold over its head the threat of importation of legally admitted Mexican contract workers, commonly called Nationals. During the war hundreds of thousands of Nationals were brought to the United States. This migration was carried out under a limited term agreement between the governments of the United States and Mexico. Big growers, including Di Giorgio, found that this type of labor has advantages for them not unlike those presented by the illegals. It is docile, tractable manpower whose rights under the agreement are but dimly enforced by the United States agencies or the Mexican officials charged with their supervision.

Before the wartime agreement expired last year, the agricultural corporations began to request large consignments of Nationals. Between August and November of 1947, twenty-four such requests totaled 19,000 men. Under this pressure a new agreement has been negotiated between the two governments. This agreement became effective on February 21 of this year. According to statements which have appeared in the press and attributed to officials of the Department of Agriculture and the Department of Labor, it is expected that over 60,000 Mexican laborers will be imported this year. The agreement, among other things, lays down the one-way principle that work contracts may be terminated only at the request of the employer. The effect of this provision appears to be that the Mexican National who is dissatisfied with his employment either has to work out the six months term of the contract or break it and thus lose all rights he may have under it.

★

Di Giorgio used Mexican Nationals during the war. He had 130 of them on his ranch when the strike broke out on October 1, 1947. The Nationals refused to work the first day of the strike but they did not join the picket line. Following visits to the ranch by representatives of the Department of Agriculture and the Mexican consulate at Fresno, the Nationals returned to work. What kind of persuasion was used by the corporation and government officials is not known.

Pressure by the National Farm Labor Union eventually brought about the removal of the Nationals from the Di Giorgio ranch. Still, a possible backlog of 60,000 imported Nationals is not an unpleasant prospect for Di Giorgio. Even if the union should succeed in preventing certification of such workers to this particular operation, the effect on the over-all labor market in California would be to make more native workers available on terms set by the corporation.

In Arvin, Lamont, Bakersfield, Shafter and other neighboring communities there are sizable concentrations of families of Mexican ancestry who have worked in the crops for years. Many of these workers are citizens of the United States by birth. Usually they live in segregated slums called "colonies." The economic status of these

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people is, if anything, lower than that of their Anglo-American fellow workers. In addition, they face serious disabilities arising out of the inferior racial and social status to which they have been traditionally assigned. Under these circumstances, the Mexican colonies make ideal hunting grounds for contractors and agents of the large corporation farms. Di Giorgio has taken advantage of the need of these Mexican workers to supply his strike breaking crews.

Corporation ranches like Di Giorgio's foster the use of machinery wherever it can be profitably substituted for human hands. The potato digger and the cotton picker have appeared in the valley. The characteristic objects on the endless horizons of Kern County are the bull dozer, the tractor and the high tension power line. Together they spell rationalization of production, displaced workers, increasing differentials between the costs of the little farmer and the big one and more competition for jobs.

★

No one who observes the California agricultural scene can fail to be impressed by the problem of housing that the seasonal workers and their families face. Within sight of Di Giorgio's huge new winery, ten colonies, dilapidated trailer camps, ditch bank settlements and full blown vineyard ghettoes dot the landscape. They stand out like ugly rips in the smooth green baize of crops that cover the valley, flat as a billiard table. Kern County's prize exhibit is Cottonwood, where Mexicans and Negroes spend their "seasons of repose." During the past decade, a notable improvement in housing facilities took place under the leadership of the Federal Government. Farm labor supply centers, as the migratory camps are called, were set up in various parts of the nation. As of March of this year there were 24 such camps in California. At present Di Giorgio and the finance farmers with whom he is associated are engaged in an all-out offensive against the public ownership and management of these camps. The reasons are clear. The camps represent a great improvement in migrant housing standards. They foster the community spirit. They are interracial. They harbor union members, who cannot be summarily evicted. They are public property where men and women may freely assemble and talk. They are a step away from the traditional company town and a step toward the town meeting. Hence the determined opposition of corporation agriculture and finance farming to the labor camps. Di Giorgio is represented on the committee of Kern County farmers who are battling to eliminate them.

Di Giorgio has sought to place the label of communism on the strikers. Already the state legislature, through the Tenney Committee, has held hearings to investigate alleged communist financing of the union. The hearings of the Committee, held in Los Angeles on February 18, 1948, were a disappointment to Di Giorgio. The union got a clean bill of health. Its officers answered all questions. The case of the corporation was so weak that Di Giorgio himself failed to appear. More recently, the suggestion has been advanced in the nature of a veiled threat, that the investigation be continued by Congress. Union officials have welcomed this proposal. Di Giorgio has also asserted through Congressman Elliott, that the pickets are outsiders imported into Kern County expressly for the purpose of agitating and provoking violence. A check on the picket line made on April 1, 1948, showed that 42 pickets stationed in front of the main gates of the packinghouse yard had been employed by Di Giorgio for periods varying from one to sixteen years. Service records of five, six and eleven years were not unusual. The Executive Committee of Local 218 of the National Farm Labor Union was composed on that date of nine workers who had been employed by the corporation for periods varying from five to twelve years. Jim Price, strike committee chairman, worked for Di Giorgio for over ten years as shed foreman.

Thus far the only answer that Di Giorgio has given to the strikers' demands has been in the form of a pamphlet entitled, "A Community Aroused." This booklet has been widely distributed directly by the corporation. It was prepared and published, however, by a committee of citizens among whom Di Giorgio's name does not appear. The main object of the pamphlet was to give the impression that the citizens of Bakersfield and surrounding communities had come to the defense of the corporation with an unbiased voluntary study of working and living conditions on the ranch. The illustrations in the pamphlet give a totally misleading impression of such conditions. They purport to show housing and recreation facilities which are in actual fact not used by the workers. Neat bungalows, surrounded by pleasant lawns, are supposed to be the quarters of contented field hands. The union has offered a reward for any field worker who has ever been seen playing on the tennis courts which the corporation maintains for its foremen and other high-bracket employees.

Finally, and not the least important of the factors which operate in favor of the corporation's contest with the union, is the problem of racial tensions between the various groups which compose Di Giorgio's present and potential labor force. The Di Giorgio strikers have a sober and rational view of race relations in the valley. Practically all of the strikers are white workers from Arkansas and Oklahoma. There are few Mexicans among them. In the past the white has been

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pitted against the Negro, the Negro against the Mexican resident, the Mexican resident against the illegals, the illegals against the Nationals, the Nationals against the Filipinos, the Filipinos against the Japanese. The "Okies" and the "Arkies" look back upon their own mistakes in their relations with workers of other nationalities and races and generally take the view that union membership, equality of opportunity for jobs based on competence and joint sharing of privileges and responsibilities should not be affected by racial differences.

This small beginning toward racial sanity, however, at present does not by any means have the power of an informed, solid and articulate public opinion. It may not stand the strain of real economic pressure in the months to come. Several damaging trends work against it. Segregation on the job is practiced by the Di Giorgio corporation. Mexican and other non Anglo-American employees are organized in separate field crews. They work at separate stalls in the packing shed. Di Giorgio employs no Negroes. Housing is separate. The resident Mexicans are bitter toward the illegals and toward the Nationals. They remember past incidents of non-cooperation with the "Okies" and feel apprehensive about their own security. Rumors have been circulated around Bakersfield and Shafter that neither Negroes nor Mexicans can join unions. The Anglo-American workers have heard from vague sources that Mexican illegals have come voluntarily to break the strike. They look with alarm upon the increasing number of Mexicans who pass the picket line along with their own kinsmen. Behind each of these groups is a story of indigence, unemployment and insecurity. Ignorance of the conditions which prevail in Mexico and which force the Nationals and illegals to seek employment in the United States, and eventually show up on the Di Giorgio scab line, will make it easier for race prejudice to stir among the "Oakies." Ignorance on the part of the Mexicans of the conditions from which their Negro competitors have fled in other parts of the United States, will strain their tradition of racial tolerance. In this brew of potential racial strife, Di Giorgio continues to fish for replacements for his crews.

This is a brief summary of the forces behind which finance farming and corporation agriculture are moving to crush unionism in the Central Valley of California. It measures the gallantry of the men and women who are risking all to bring a greater measure of economic security and social dignity to the migrants of the Pacific coast. The strikers have shown that they can conduct a peaceful campaign in the face of violent provocation. The attempt to arouse community feeling against the strikers has failed. Chamber of Commerce officials in Kern County have met in conference with the president of the union and expressed a willingness to support extension of unemployment insurance to agricultural workers in the state. The corporation has been compelled to admit by its deeds that it recognizes the existence of a strike. The strikers have focused public attention, not merely on their own plight, but beyond that on the basic issues that face millions of American citizens whose labor raises the crops that feed the nation and a starving world.

Has Moscow Changed Its Line?

Christopher Emmet

THE latest Moscow incident, connected with Ambassador Smith's note to Molotov, is immensely important, and despite the exhaustive explanations by Secretary Marshall and President Truman, we have not heard the last of it. It is obvious now that Moscow deliberately distorted the import of Ambassador Smith's memorandum and violated its confidential nature. Nevertheless Secretary Marshall was probably right in saying that the Kremlin's action in publishing this distorted version had not necessarily hurt the cause of peace, and might even have helped it.

The Soviet Foreign Minister's action, combined with a recent softening in Soviet tactics in Berlin, Vienna and Trieste, suggests at least a temporary toning down of Russia's aggressive foreign policy. And in addition to these official indications there have been various unofficial hints along the same line, such as conciliatory off-the-record remarks and inquiries by Soviet military officials in Germany and Austria.

Another revealing fact is the enthusiasm reported from Moscow among the Russian people over the Soviet announcement of an American offer to resume negotiations. Hence it is hard to escape the impression that this Soviet move was not just another clever and unscrupulous tactical maneuver in the cold war. It was an indication that the Soviets felt the need to dramatize their own allegedly peaceful policies, and the lessening war danger both to their own people and

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to the people of the satellite countries.

If these conclusions are correct and if the correct lesson is drawn from them in America, they will mark a definite improvement in the prospects for peace, at least for this year. For not only will it mean that the danger of war is postponed but that the time gained can reduce the chances of war coming later, and improve the military position of the democracies in case war *should* come. If Western Europe continues to unite, and if America continues to re-arm, the military prospects and therefore the probability of a Soviet aggression would be greatly reduced.

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But all this, of course, depends on the reaction of American public opinion to the Soviet olive branch, however awkwardly and dishonestly it was offered. If we interpret it as a tribute to the recent firmness and vigor of American and Western European resistance to Soviet pressure, that is one thing. But if it leads us to over-confidence and complacency; if it should raise doubts not only in the Kremlin but among our Western European allies about America's determination to continue its firm policy when it is beginning to produce results; if it should lead to an outbreak of partisan politics and a refusal of Congress to pass Selective Service or to support a regional defense pact in Europe—then the Soviet distortion of Ambassador Smith's remarks would have won a great diplomatic victory. For presumably the purpose of the Soviet trick was to kill two birds with one stone. It was not only to reassure their own people but to divide and embarrass us.

As far as the reaction of Secretary Marshall and President Truman goes, their stand was admirably firm. But the reaction of some Republican congressional leaders and candidates for the presidency was anything but satisfactory. When the distorted Moscow version was first announced by the Tass Agency, these Republicans, including Speaker Joe Martin and Governor Dewey, hailed the idea of a new conference without considering its implications and without even waiting for an official comment on the Moscow report from the State Department. Worse still, perhaps, was the action of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee in unexpectedly delaying Senator Vandenberg's mild proposal for a revision of the UN veto power, and his call for American support for a Western European regional pact against aggression.

The effect of this attitude, unless speedily corrected, will tend to confirm Moscow in its past over-estimates of American pacifism and American partisan division, errors which have encouraged recent Soviet aggression. If these Republican leaders are the convinced opponents of past American appeasement of Russia which they profess to be, and if the Republican Party is the most vigorous opponent of Communism and Soviet aggression as they assert, it is surprising to have them welcome a call for a new conference primarily between Russia and America, on the Yalta, Teheran and Potsdam model.

We might have expected these leaders to speak at least with the vigor of Ernest Bevin, when he said:

> If the ambassador of a nation cannot discuss quite frankly with the foreign minister of another country without publication, if he cannot do that in order to bring the parties together, then the situation is not only intolerable, but peace is impossible.
>
> I have had too many failures already in trying to reconcile the dispute between the West and the East. There has to be a good deal of what I once called putting the cards on the table, face upward. What I want is peace, but I cannot get peace in the world if I have to ask the Western Powers and Powers of other parts of the world to sacrifice their principles and their spiritual beliefs in order to sit in on something with which they do not agree. The evidence all goes to show that the people of the world want peace. If the people are allowed to meet, they can have peace. It is only the Communists who stand in the way.

It is reassuring that Secretary Marshall was almost as emphatic as Bevin, not only in repudiating the idea of a conference between America and Russia alone but the idea of another conference at all until it was clear that Moscow was prepared to make drastic concessions. Marshall put it as follows:

> General Smith did not ask for any general discussion or negotiation. We have had a long and bitter experience with such efforts. This government had no intention of entering into bilateral negotiation with the Soviet government on matters relating to the interest of other governments. What we want is action in the fields where action is possible and urgently necessary at the present time. . . . It would be very unfortunate if an attempt were made to sit down at a table and enter into general discussions and have the discussions result in failure to reach agreement, *or result in disputes over the obligations which might be undertaken in such agreements.*

It is not as though anything had happened since our previous experience with Soviet promises to justify the assumption that there had been a fundamental change of policy. On the contrary, as we have seen, we have every reason to interpret the softening of the Soviet attitude as the obvious result of the recent anti-Communist victory in Italy and the increasing unity of Western Europe in the face of Soviet aggression. The electoral victory and that unity were the result of a combination of increasing American generos-

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ity toward the free nations and the increasing American firmness toward the Soviets.

Naturally also, the Sovet government, having made a series of disastrous political miscalculations, would like a temporary breathing spell to consolidate the gains it won by our appeasement. For even if Russia temporarily renounced new aggressive moves, the present position leaves her with all the fruits of her treaty violations and aggressions, in Czechoslovakia and every other country of Central and Eastern Europe. If we take up negotiations where we left off last fall, it would leave the Italian frontier disarmed; Greece, Turkey and Korea in danger; Austria and Germany starving and divided; Poland, Rumania, Hungary, Bulgaria, Yugoslavia, Czechoslovakia, Finland and the Baltic states cut off and enslaved.

After all the disappointment and dishonor which past conferences have produced, surely there is at least one advantage we can draw from their failure. We can take advantage of Soviet violation of her promises to withdraw the promises which we ourselves should never have made, such as our recognition of the Curzon Line and Soviet control in Manchuria, which violated our promises to our oldest allies, as well as the provisions of the Atlantic Charter. We can start any new negotiations with a clean slate.

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We have two duties: One is to protect Western Europe, the Middle East, China and Korea, and we have only begun that task. Our other equally urgent duty is to press forward by every diplomatic, economic and propaganda means to liberate Eastern Europe, for Europe cannot recover or unite half slave and half free.

So it is not enough for us to resume negotiations with the Soviet on the old basis. It is not only impossible for us to trust their promises until they prove by deeds that their policy has really changed; there is also the fact that there is no hope of such a change in their policy until we have proved by *our* deeds that there is no chance of a new American appeasement. We conceded so much at the past conferences and in the peace treaties with the satellite countries that we have nothing to offer the Soviets which is of any value to them unless they abandon their hopes of aggression. Their coup in Czechoslovakia has put our backs to the wall in Western Europe. No further retreat or concession therefore is possible in return for some Soviet concession. The only thing we can offer the Soviets in safety or in honor is our help in the economic reconstruction of Russia and the rest of Eastern Europe. But even that is something we cannot give them until we are sure that their control of Eastern Europe has been abandoned, until the Red Army and the secret police are being withdrawn, and the promised free elections could really be held.

Otherwise to share Marshall Plan aid with Soviet Europe would mean that we would have less to give to our allies because we were helping to build up our potential enemies. It would be the old story of putting investments into Hitler Germany or selling scrap iron to Japan, and the American people will never stand for that again. All bargaining is a matter of offering an inducement with one hand and a threat with the other. In other words, "If you scratch my back, I'll scratch yours. . . . But if you injure me, I know how to give a greater injury in return."

At the moment in dealing with Russia we must depend on the threat more than the inducement, for the reasons we have seen. Yet until we have gone much further along our recent path of greater firmness there is no reason why Russia should take the threats seriously enough to revise her whole policy. Why should she despair when we have not yet even passed Selective Service, let alone UMT, despite her coup in Czechoslovakia and her aggressive acts in Berlin and Korea? The Marshall Plan itself was a great American deed which appears to have somewhat shaken the confidence of the men in the Kremlin, but it is only the beginning. That is the only kind of preparation for another conference with Russia which really matters.

All this does not mean that the task of a peaceful rollback of Russian aggression in Europe is hopeless, for our success in the early stages of the cold war are greater than we could have hoped. All the news from Eastern Europe suggests the total failure of the Molotov Plan. The further the Marshall Plan progresses in the West the greater will be the economic pressures against the Molotov Plan in the East. The same swing against Communism which was reflected in the recent Italian elections and in recent elections in Germany, coming on top of the Communist defeat in the French general strike, shows the trend of opinion towards us in Western Europe. And we may well hope that the swing of opinion against the Soviets in Eastern Europe is even greater, although it cannot openly express itself.

Formerly there were millions of Czechs who had illusions about Soviet Russia. Now all but a tiny Communist minority are embittered enemies of the Communists. Mikolajczyk of Poland, Nagy and Pfeiffer of Hungary, Radescu of Rumania, and other leaders who have escaped from behind the Iron Curtain during the last year, all testify that anti-Communist feeling is greatest where they know the Communists the best. The saying still goes that the worst Soviet mistake was to let Europe see the Red Army and to let the Red Army see Europe.

It may be that in Russia itself the discontent is not so serious, because the people have been

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so completely cut off that, apart from some Red Army soldiers, they have no basis for comparison between their own regime and the West. But in the Soviet satellite countries the people can compare the situation under the Russians with their former relative freedom. The greatest doubt both in Western and Eastern Europe is not whether they want to choose the American way rather than the Communist way. The doubt is whether America is strong enough, or rather determined enough, to protect the countries that are still free and to press for the liberation of those which are enslaved. That is why we must not only pour money and propaganda into Western Europe but pour propaganda into Eastern Europe on an ever increasing scale—and no propaganda would be so eloquent as the adoption of Selective Service and the 70 Group Air Force in America, and the sending of lend-lease military supplies to Western Europe. Only that would prove that the American people are united to go the whole way, even in an election year. Only that would prepare the way for an eventually successful conference with Moscow.

With our Allies in the West we are beginning to win the cold war. We must not break up a winning team. The Soviet maneuver about a new conference was an attempt to do just that. It probably means that we can no longer, for the present, count on Soviet insults and blunders to help solidify the growing unity of our team. From now on we may be on our own. We may have to earn the unity which until now the Kremlin has helped to forge.

The Stage & Screen

S. S. Glencairn

THE CRITICAL cries of delight greeting José Ferrer's less than mediocre production of the four short Eugene O'Neill plays seem to me entirely mystifying. Certainly this odd "conspiracy of approval" amounts to small service either to the company or to the City Center audiences. The few people who have spoken to me about the production were adamant in their disappointment, none more so than the hard-working eager young editor who accompanied me, and who sat there first in silent consternation, and then in even more silent slumber. It is, of course, wrong to wake the sleeping under any circumstances; at a theatre performance it is merely necessary to note their presence.

It is true, I think, that one thing, and one thing only, could justify a revival of these early sea plays of O'Neill's, and that is superlative acting. In spite of the insistence of the bookmen, I don't think the pieces stand up too well. The recent war makes too big a difference; even the presence of "Mr. Roberts" a few streets to the south makes too big a difference. Most of all, probably one of the best movies of all time, "The Long Voyage Home" by John Ford, was so intelligently drawn from this same material that an enormous hurdle exists for almost any theatre producer in attempting a nowadays staging of the work. Nevertheless, granting careful casting and scrupulous direction, the pieces should be rewarding both historically and as straight theatre experience. Unfortunately, nothing is granted by Mr. Ferrer's efforts.

The casting is incredible: with all of professional Broadway to tap, still no actor on the stage looks to be more than twenty-five years old. All of the many dialects are mishandled. Even the most amateur playgoer would have the impulse to shift the parts among the company. And moreover, the business is pretty shockingly sloppy. The important black tin box of "In The Zone" is obviously olive green. In the "Moon Of The Caribees," as somebody said, there is no Moon and there are no Caribees: everyone is done up in sweatshirts and heavy surplus Navy gear; no one is hot; the climatic and climactic fight is simply a joke. In "The Long Voyage Home," Mr. Ferrer himself, as Fat Joe, sporting a false paunch, childish moustache, and sliding cockney (I can only call it) brogue, gives an awfully good example of just how silly an actor can be.

Following the excellent production of Ben Jonson's "The Alchemist," this far graver work unquestionably limits Mr. Ferrer's abilities, as actor and director, to farce and melodrama. Needless to say, both these forms are authentic schemes and well suited, as this column has repeated over and over again, to the grandiose dimensions of the City Center. However, the Center's audience deserves a rounded arrangement of stage fare, and I honestly think the movers had better team Mr. Ferrer up with someone who can also handle serious business. Neither America's first playwright, nor any of the profession, nor the most truly intelligent public in town have benefited by this shambles. I think everyone wants this New York stock company to succeed, but critical log-rolling will not help it. And random wishes will not help it, nor any easy promotion. Nothing, I should say, but an honest job. That Mr. Ferrer is entirely capable of delivering this job, within his zone, is obvious. Outside his zone, he must, from now on, be fair enough to look for assistance. (*at the City Center.*)

KAPPO PHELAN.

Theater-into-Cinema

THREE PLAYS have recently been made into movies, and while they cannot be pointed to as outstanding examples of the cinematic art, they are still fascinating movies and well worth their weight in celluloid. Thematically the three films have little in common, so what you have to do is decide which of these groups of people you want to spend your hour and a half with.

"Another Part of the Forest" again confronts you with those thoroughly unpleasant people who first turned up in "The Little Foxes." This time, however, we see them twenty years earlier and we learn a thing or two about how they got that way. Lillian Hellman, who wrote

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both plays, understands people—especially the nasty ones who look pretty horrible when the log is lifted and they are exposed to the light. Perhaps a more despicable family has never turned up in movies; and the good cast makes the most of these well written studies in degeneracy. Fredric March is excellent as the father whose complex code varies from complete disregard for his fellow-men to extraordinary fondness for the Greek philosophers. His children run their mean papa a close second in meanness: Dan Duryea as the weaker son, Edmond O'Brien as the elder son who finally gets the upper hand through a trick that is no worse than what Papa had done in the first place, and Ann Blyth as the daughter, the only one for whom Papa shows an inclination that could under some circumstances be called love. The only person in this household whose character has touches of decency is the mother (Florence Eldridge) who finally rebels and walks out on her nest of vipers. The supporting cast also give moving portrayals, and throughout the entire picture Director Michael Gordon tried valiantly to whip the script by Vladimir Pozner into real cinema. He was greatly hampered by lack of action and by the plot's emphasis on verbal characterization. However the finished movie is by no means dull. You won't at any time like the Hubbards and their dog-eat-dog scheme of living, and you may even resent having so many undesirable people crowded into one story; but as a study in baser motives and as a thoughtful consideration of a post-Civil War economic system, this pciture deserves your attention. Furthermore, if you have a little hate that you have to spill somewhere, spill it on the Hubbards who will make you sizzle with anger.

But if you're feeling sentimental and want to spill a little love for your fellow-humans, then *"The Time of Your Life"* is your picture. Made from Saroyan's many-prize-winning play, this movie was directed by H. C. Potter, who tried every device he could think of to get action into a script (by Nathaniel Curtis) that is essentially talky and crowded with characters. Actually this is the kind of film I usually object to becauce it depends so much on the spoken word and sound track; but because I liked its talk so much and because I am such a push-over for Saroyan characters, I enjoyed the movie immensely. Saroyan's vague, lovely, human people come and go in Nick's San Francisco water-front saloon. The guiding light here is Joe, an idler who spends most of his time at a table, philosophizing, helping people and drinking. It would be impossible in a short review to list all the characters that wander through this plot, which is really no plot at all but more of a commentary on life as seen through somewhat disillusioned rose-color glasses. Some of the episodes are very soft and sentimental; a few are brutal; most of them are spiked with a gentle and lovable humor; and all of them are movable in a strange literary sort of way that is life-like but completely unreal. The whole piece is expertly acted, with James Cagney as Joe, William Bendix as Nick, Wayne Morris, Jeanne Cagney, James Barton (who gives a superb performance as Kit Carson), Paul Draper, Tom Powers (impersonating the only really despicable character: an evil brute who bullies the weak) and with many others who flit in and out of this series of stories that glow with human warmth. At times you won't have any trouble pricking the pseudo-philosophical bubbles that these beery characters blow; but if you're the least bit blue or lonely Nick's is the place to go. Saroyan's escaptist liquors will wash the taste of the Hubbards out of your mouth.

Several years ago the Lunts delighted their enthusiastic followers with a thin S. N. Behrman play called *"The Pirate."* Now this little item has been made into a lush musical with Judy Garland and Gene Kelly. Its story about a girl who thinks she's in love with a romanticized pirate is just as trifling as it was on the stage. But it has been decorated so well with Cole Porter songs, nicely handled by Judy and Gene, and many lovely technicolored effects of the Caribbean locale, that the whole piece makes a very pleasant adult diversion. You really won't have to think at all as the plot goes its escapist way. The musical numbers are bound to keep you amused; and Kelly's dancing is first-rate. In fact these dance sequences, designed by Kelly and Robert Alton, are so good that they alone would be worth the price of admission.

PHILIP T. HARTUNG.

The Labor Movement

BUSINESS IS GETTING TOUGH

AS THIS is written 75,000 workers are completing the first week of their strike against the Chrysler Corporation. This test of strength may be crucial for American labor and American industry alike.

In the last year it has become increasingly common to see unions losing strikes. A group of weak unions lost out in their fight against the American Telephone & Telegraph Co. about a year ago. A big strike in CIO shipyards, mostly against the Bethlehem Steel Co., lasted over four months and was anything but a crashing success. More recently we have seen Chicago printers beating their heads against a wall of resistance. Wall Street serfs rebelling vainly against their serfdom, cable strikers sinking without a trace, packinghouse workers taking it on the chin. Even John L. Lewis, accustomed as he is to victory, took his second straight knockout from the US Government. AFL, CIO or independent—it has made little difference. The weak unions didn't have a chance. The strong ones seem to have overestimated their strength.

This is not to say that labor's record over the past 12 months has been one long tale of disaster and defeat. Before he tangled with the government Lewis did extremely well in a soft coal strike last summer. AFL seamen licked the Isthmian Line in a nine-day tussle. The gentle race of teachers has been showing unwonted militance in hitting the bricks, with good results. In New York sandhogs and Childs waiters have won their separate walkouts.

Unions have also won sizable gains without strikes. In many cities newspaper publishers have been settling with printers, pressmen and editorial workers for as much as $13 a week (pressmen) and 11 percent (newsmen). In New York, transit workers have just wrung 24 cents an hour more (second and third rounds combined) from both private and public employers. Oil workers have

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received respectable increases. So have building workers and other scattered groups here and there.

There is no all-embracing pattern. America is a country of remarkable diversity and even the rule of "big business" is by no means absolute. The Sinclair Oil Company probably doesn't qualify as very big business, but they are bucking the trend with a 17½ cent raise. Esso is granting 12½ cents. Even the big meat companies have come through with nine cents and Chrysler offered six cents before they decided to take it back. But there is a growing chorus from the representatives of large-scale enterprise: "No increase this year!" Or as one labor reporter interpreted their present position: "The bell shall never ring for the third round."

Big Steel has said "no" to the CIO's demand for a cost-of-living boost. So have General Electric and Westinghouse. General Motors has generously suggested a 45-hour week at straight time, but no raise. Ford has gone on the offensive and asked for a wage cut. The telephone octopus is being very tough. So are the shipping and shipbuilding interests. Some of them, notably steel and electrical firms, have thrown out small price cuts to give credence to their argument that they are determined to stop inflation. The unions reply that the price cuts are fine, however small, but that the figures prove that nearly all these enterprises could reduce prices even more, pay substantial raises to their employees, and still make a nice profit.

For example, the United Auto Workers, CIO, which has called the strike at Chrysler, claims that it has "proved with the Corporation's own figures that Chrysler can pay the full 30c-an-hour increase . . . *and* reduce the price of every Chrysler car by $70 *and* still make a good six percent profit." Since the UAW would probably accept something much closer to 10 cents than to 30, you can adjust the profit upward accordingly. If Chrysler paid the full 30 cents and kept its prices the same, it could make a profit of 14½ percent on its investment.

We have seen Chrysler's ad in the newspapers and the only thing we got out of it was another look at the new shell-game whereby a profit-happy corporation tries to kid the public into thinking that it is really in tough shape by estimating profit as a percentage of sales rather than as a percentage of invested funds or of added value. This is a gimmick that some smart operator at the National Association of Manufacturers dreamed up a few years ago, and everybody has been using it like crazy ever since. Bethlehem Steel and Armour Meats are two other recent examples.

The Auto Workers point out that their members at Chrysler have an average weekly wage that is $13 less than the government's estimate of a minimum living wage for a family of four. They don't give figures, but it is probably something like $55 as opposed to $68. The cost of living has risen 12 percent in the past year. Chrysler management gave itself salary increases ranging up to 78.8 percent last year and the new tax law will increase its take-home pay up to 58 percent. Not bad for a period when Chrysler is supposed to have been riding a white horse in the battle with inflation.

When are we going to start paying living wages if we don't start now? The improved ability of American business to break strikes cannot supply an answer to that question that would rightly appeal to a Christian conscience.

JOHN C. CORT.

CATHOLIC INTERNATIONAL NEWS

BULGARIAN PRIESTS IN LABOR BRIGADES

Sofia (CIP, 22/5)—*Father Peter Serijski,* Secretary of the Vicariat Apostolic of Sofia, and 5 other Catholic priests, who were recently reported by the Bulgarian pro-Communist press to have enlisted in the "voluntary" labor brigades of Bulgarian youth, are now working with other Bulgarians on the building of new railroads and mines, a CIP Correspondent learned from an authoritative source. CIP has also been able to ascertain that the presence of those priests in labor brigades is not due to voluntary enlistment but to orders received from the government authorities. The ecclesiastical authorities gave the priests permission to follow the call in order to prevent greater evils. Permission was granted with the condition that the priests keep their superiors informed as to where they are working and what line of work they are doing.

The "youth brigades," which play an important rôle in the "new people's democracies" of Yugoslavia and Bulgaria, are a reservoir of cheap labor for the governments and, at the same time, an instrument of communist indoctrination. Although enlistment is, in principle, "voluntary," a great deal of pressure, and often direct coercion, is used to "persuade" the young people to sign up.

The press items about Father Serijski and the other Catholic priests were apparently intended to create the false impression that the Catholic clergy in Bulgaria is cooperating with the Communist regime.

There are only about 60,000 Catholics in Bulgaria. They have approximately 120 priests. Most of these are members of religious orders and a fairly large percentage are foreigners.

35 DUTCH CATHOLIC DAILIES

The Hague (CIP, 21/5)—There are at present 36 Catholic daily newspapers in the Netherlands, according to a survey just released by the Catholic Netherlands News Service (KNP), the Dutch affiliate of the CIP network. The figure includes only newspapers which appear at least six times a week and have been recognized as Catholic by the ecclesiastical authorities. Three of these dailies have nationwide and even international importance: *De Maasbode* (Rotterdam), *De Tijd* (Amsterdam), and *De Volkskrant* (Amsterdam). The other papers are of a local or regional character. About half the Catholic daily newspapers are individually owned and published, but there are several "chains."

20% CATHOLIC MISSIONARIES ARE DUTCH

The Hague (CIP, 20/5)—Twenty per cent of all Catholic missionaries in the world are of Dutch origin, although there are only about 3,100,000 Catholics in the Netherlands, less than 1% of the Catholic population of the world. The prominent position of the Netherlands in Catholic mission world is being emphasized at present

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at a Catholic Mission Exhibition, which was opened at Zwolle, a few days ago. The share of the Netherlands in the Catholic mission work amounts to 36 Bishops, 7 Prefects Apostolic, and 2,962 missionaries.

ROME CHRISTIAN DEMOCRATS WIN ANOTHER LABOR UNION ELECTION

Rome (CIP, 18/5)—Christian Democratic candidates obtained by far the largest number of votes in elections to the leading committees of the Roman Federation of Bank Employees. The new Bargaining Committee (*Collegio Sindacale*) consists of 3 Christian Democrats and 2 representatives of the Communist-Socialist Bloc; the new Executive Committee of 7 Christian Democrats, 4 members of the "labor unity" group (Communists and left wing Socialists), 3 members of the Socialist Workers' Party (Saragat Socialists, anti-Communist), and 1 Republican.

The Christian Democrats (usually labeled *"corrente Sindacale Cristiana,"* "Christian Labor Trend," in elections of this kind) obtained 2,400 votes, the leftist "labor unity" slate 1,660, the Saragat Socialists 1,257, the Republicans 350. This means that the Christian Democrats alone polled 43%, and together with their allies 70%.

Seen in the context of a large number of similar labor union elections, which showed large gains for the Christian Democrats and a decrease of the Communist-Socialist vote, the election among the bank employees in Rome appears to indicate growing dissatisfaction with the leftist control of the Italian Labor Union Federation (CGIL).

BRITISH COMMUNISTS JOIN CHURCH

London (CIP, 17/5)—The conversion to the Catholic Church of *Fred Copeman,* former Secretary of the Communist Party of Great Britain, former British representative on the Executive Committee of the Komintern (Communist International), and a battalion commander in the International Brigade during the Spanish Civil War, was in many ways an event similar to that of the recent conversion of *Douglas Hyde,* former News Editor of the London *Daily Worker,* and the return to the Church, two years ago, of *Louis F. Budenz,* at that time Managing Editor of the New York *Daily Worker.* Mr. Copeman is at present a member of the Executive Committee of the British Union of Civil Engineers.

In a statement made after his conversion, Mr. Copeman declared: "The Communist Party exacts their all from the men who join it. Let us not have any doubts about the fact that its appeal goes deep into their hearts. The tragedy is that once the Party has gained the confidence of a member it misuses this confidence. In order to defeat a power which is so deeply rooted, a supernatural force and a supernatural faith are needed. I asked myself whether there exists a force which has never been defeated or reduced in the course of the centuries, and I found myself compelled to recognize that the only such force is Christianity . . . I could not help seeing that Christ, when He came to this world, chose to come as the son of a carpenter, and I believe that, by doing so, God wanted to bless the workers."

Revolution Now

IT WAS a mistake, of course, to read in quick succession two such books as Willard Motley's "Knock On Any Door," and Catherine de Hueck's "Dear Bishop." Both of them, the one hard and ugly, the other wounded and urgent, were cruel blows to the serene satisfaction of a pastor contemplating his crowded church and balanced budget. In both books the implication was inescapable: there was an all-but-impassable barrier between the priest and the people who need him the most. So, although he didn't look the part, the postman was a melodramatic rescuer from the wings, when he handed me the review copy of Henri Perrin's "Priest Workman in Germany." The author was one of several French priests who volunteered as workmen and mechanics in the labor battalions recruited in France for German war factories. It was there that he found the barrier, by butting up against it. Gradually, through pain and tears, he crossed the barrier by burrowing beneath it. The story of that passage is the story of his book.

Father Perrin left France in high spirits at the thought of the good he would do among his exiled and priest-hungry countrymen. His enthusiasm was short-lived. He found that as a priest he wasn't particularly wanted. The French workers didn't know much about priests, except that they lived a soft life and didn't fit into the pattern of present reality. A man had all he could do to find a woman to sleep with and enough cigarette butts to make life bearable, without dragging up sentimental dreams of the past.

Then Father Perrin began to burrow. Before they could want him as a priest, they had to want Christ Whom he bore. Before they could want Christ they must have an understanding of God as their Father. But even that was too advanced; they must first get the sense of their own common humanity. It was in prison, to which in due course Father Perrin came, that he learned to love souls nakedly, disinterestedly, as Christ loves them. It was here that the author drew as close to the lost sheep which so thickly people the desert as any priest can hope to draw. The Communists, oddly enough, understood his message better than the baptized pagans. Peter and Nikita would pray with him, in Russian, when Henri and Bordeaux remain wrapped in cynical scorn.

It is a fascinating story that this "Priest Workman in Germany" tells of himself. Starkly honest, movingly beautiful—as witness the description of his furtive Easter Mass. Three other prisoners huddle with him in the dark over the little table whereon the Precious Blood reposes in a mess-cup. Even these three have no conception yet of what it means to make one's Easter Duty, so Father Perrin doesn't suggest it. Other prisoners watch indifferently from their bunks, or go, like the Pole, noisily to the toilet six feet away.

"Our churches will grow empty—indeed they already have in many parts; they will grow empty, and it would be childish to hope for a miracle to come and fill them up again, and suddenly give back the faith to men who have gradually been de-Christianized. There can be no

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* *Priest Workman in Germany. Henri Perrin. Translated by Rosemary Sheed. Sheed.* $2.50.

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other miracle than the living witness of Christians, following Christ's command. 'So let your light shine before men, that they may see your good works, and glorify your Father.' . . . "

It is on this note that Father Perrin ends his diary. He is back in France now; in France which is the eldest daughter of the Church; in France from whence, despite all her sins against faith and morals, have come more than a fair proportion of saints; in France where even now priests are living and working (with episcopal approval) as dockhands and factory hands, in order to bring Christ to the lowly; in France where the Lay Apostolate has been given new meaning by the Christian Militant, and the cell technique of Jocist and Jecist and Jacist. It is in France, indeed, that the most noticeable cracks are appearing in the damnable wall that has risen in the Church between sanctuary and nave.

It is a wall that has been long in building, but in the building of which Christ had no part. His disciples have always been more exclusive than the Master. In His own day He had to rebuke them for holding back the little children, had to remind them that it was for pagans, and not for His followers, to want to lord it over people. Strangely enough, it is the words of Saint Peter, which were intended to set a definite seal upon the oneness of *all* Christians, that gave footing to the divisive wall between priests and people: "You yourselves are built thereon (on Christ) into a spiritual house, a holy priesthood, to offer spiritual sacrifices acceptable to God through Jesus Christ." It was the effort of second century heretics, the Montanists, to deduce from these words the right of any Christian to say Mass that brought orthodox apologists on the run to defend the uniqueness of the ordained clergy.

From the beginning, the process of separation grew through the centuries, with a myriad of contributing causes. The Middle Ages, for all that they were ages of faith, removed the clergy farther from the people, when bishops became temporal overlords and education became identified with tonsure. In the same period the abuses of lay investiture (counterparted in American history by the abuses of the trustee system) established in clerical minds a deep-rooted distaste for lay participation in church affairs. The 16th century brought Luther's rejection of the Mass and consequent laicization of the priesthood—a Montanist in reverse. Again theologians hurried to the defence by emphasizing (and often by over-emphasizing) the division between altar and pew. Even in dress the priest has been set apart, moving about in the solemn majesty of black. And today in our seminaries the ordinandus is warned before departure: "Never become familiar with the laity. Always seek your recreation with other priests." It is for his own protection that the priest has been thus fenced about, but it is ironical that he must be protected from the very people he has been ordained to love and serve and lead.

So the wall has risen and grown, and what the centuries have done cannot be undone easily, probably not altogether, ever, in France, or in Europe, or in America. Which is why recent Popes have turned more and more hopefully to encouraging the lay apostolate. Our present Holy Father, like his predecessor Pius XI, envisions a body of trained leaders, formed and disciplined in the cell technique of Catholic Action. They, moving and working in their own environment, will exercise their influence on their fellow-workmen, or fellow-students, or fellow-farmers, with a directness and an acceptability that only equality can achieve. They will reach a segment of souls hopelessly removed from effective contact with the priest.

This type of Catholic Action is being more slowly accepted here in the United States than elsewhere. Many of the clergy, some even of the hierarchy, are inclined to view it with suspicion, or to feel that it is unneeded, or unadaptable to the American scene. Because America is a so-called "middle class" nation, we are inclined to forget that there *is* a "lower" class. The average American priest, friendly and approachable, occasionally playing golf or cards with his parishioners, calling so many of them by their first names, is lulled into thinking that he is close to his people. But he is far removed from the ones who need him most urgently. Far from the ones who lounge in pool-room doors, or gaze sullenly out from bar-room windows, or fan themselves on fire-escapes—as Father Urbanus drives by in his new Buick. They see his cigar, his immaculate collar, his neat hair-cut and shave, and feel that they have nothing in common with him. They are the ones who need salvation the most, and are precisely the ones who feel the need for it the least.

We can ignore it, of course, but the barrier is there. The only way in which that barrier will be reached, or better, bridged, will be through lay militants. Trained and directed by priests on the one hand, and contacting and influencing the priestless on the other, the militants will establish a two-way line of communication through which love and sacrifice will flow, and through which ignorance again may seek the truth.

On the part of the priest, I think that there is going to be necessary a greater spirit of simplicity and practical poverty. I speak hesitantly, as one who has himself shared in past failures. But it seems manifest that we shall teach love and sacrifice effectively only in so far as we shall learn to abjure the little luxuries and indulgences to which we have grown accustomed. Fine cars and expensive vacations, clubhouse privileges and ringside seats: all are licit, certainly, but so seldom expedient.

We priests, too, are going to have to make the liturgical revival something more than the gallant effort of a few. Here is a movement designed to give the Mass and the Sacraments back to the people; to unveil them as sources of life and strength and beauty. The liturgical revival is not a matter, as many priests still think, of turning the altar towards the people or permitting the vernacular in the liturgy, however desirable such incidentals might be. It is the very substance of the liturgy that is in question, teaching the people to know and love the liturgy, to ***hunger*** for it as a healthy man ought to hunger for his food, that God's grace may inform and transform their daily lives. This is the work, more than any other, that will give Father Perrin his hoped-for miracle: "the living witness of Christians" letting their light shine before men.

It is a work in which our Catholic schools and colleges so far have failed. They have failed probably because we priests as a class have failed. We have been so intent on the "ex opere operato" efficacy of the Mass and Sacraments that we have forgotten a simple fact: that a starving man still may die if he does not know that it is food which has been placed in his hand. When the liturgy has ceased to be a routine ritual for the priest,

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it will cease to be a mumbo-jumbo formula for the laity. Love will beget love.

But on the whole, it is a progressively brightening picture here in the United States. At Loveland, Ohio, there is Grailville, a "school of living" in which young women are being trained for the lay apostolate. At Herman, Pennsylvania, the Center of Christ the King offers a similar training in Christian leadership for men. There are the Friendship Houses in the Negro ghettos of our large cities, making the Church's interracial sincerity visible to the masses. There are the Hospitality Houses of the Catholic Worker movement, where bedding and food are shared as Christ would share, without question or case-record. There is the growing network of Catholic Action cells—Young Christian Workers, Young Christian Students, Young Christian Farmers—spreading daily and a promising leaven for the future.

The recent war was a cruel price for the Church in Europe to pay for an understanding of her past deficiencies. But she is awake, and there revolution is on the march. Here in America, so far removed from the ugliness, the sin, the flayed exposure of atrophy which Europe has endured, spiritual smugness has yet to be vanquished. But even here revolution is under way. Like all peaceful revolutions, it is sneaking up on us almost unawares. Yet an increasing number of priests and bishops are becoming increasingly uneasy at the facile loss of the weak, and the spiritual lethargy of the faithful. It may well be that Church history will record the twentieth century as the age of return to the Faith.

LEO J. TRESE.

Planetary Christians

IN HIS Pastoral Letter, *Growth or Decline? The Church Today,* issued February 1947, The Cardinal Archbishop of Paris, states and examines the present world problem and defines the position of Christians and of the Church toward it.*

The present day problem of the whole world is that, through scientific achievements, fragmentary civilizations are on the way out and a common civilization is rushing in. Consequently, not only the national man is on the way out, but also the international man. The new man in the making is a planetary man. The question therefore is: Who is equal "to meet, foster and develop the soul of that planetary civilization?"

"Not the Church, anyhow," say the unbelievers. "The Church is done for, and the proof lies in all her misdeeds throughout the ages."

"The Church is not dead," say the Catholics. "The principle and inspiration of the planetary civilization will be either chaos or the Church."

But how is this to come about? Here French Catholics take their stand from two different attitudes. Some think the Church will do it by remaining wholly on the defensive, absorbed in holding with intransigeance to what she has. Other French Catholics think the Church will survive by reaching out into the world, which does not mean tampering with the integral content of the faith, but by becoming "incarnate" in a new world.

The answer to the unbelievers and also to the two apparently contradictory Catholic attitudes, rests, says the Cardinal, "in the profound nature of the Church as her dogma and her history reveal it to us."

The Church has two aspects: A transcendental aspect: Mystical Body of Christ; a temporal aspect: Body of Christ. An over-progressive attitude denies the former, since without a visible organization Christ is no longer "incarnate" on earth and the Church is no longer a body. On the other hand, an exaggerated conservatism which stops at juridical organization and goes no further than external appearances amounts to replacing "the Body of Christ by a corpse of the Church." The two aspects of the Church are one.

Because of these two aspects, the Church has never bound herself to the structures of civilizations that she assumed to sanctify. Jewish, Greek, Roman, Barbarian: she lived in all, intimately, even to the temptation of herself clinging to temporal power. She does the same now, and will do the same. Tactic Machiavellianism? Opportunism? No. She does not bind herself to the structures of society because she encompasses them all. Her entity is not within them. Therefore she always could and can shed what is only a "dress." But if so, why then such widespread de-Christianization? Much of it can be laid at the door of the élite; those who were rich either materially or intellectually and whose anti-Christian action slowly spread among the masses.

What, then, is to be done? How meet the problems of the renewal and transformation of the world by all the intellectual, technical and esthetic efforts of the last centuries, together with the ever-increasing conscious affirmation of a universal solidarity? The way is by an ever-unfolding Christian outlook, grounded upon the inflexibility of the Church in matters of doctrinal truth.

Is a conciliation of these apparent contraries, the set doctrines and changing world, a recipe or a mixture? It is a just hierarchy of values, which outlines the Christian life. It means that the life of a Christian is a two-fold commitment. It has always been so, when authentically Christian, but what this commitment means in our present day world is clearly defined by the Cardinal:

The first part is to the *supernatural,* interior life, not only as a matter of Christian principle but because "modern man will never leave his mysticisms for a cut-rate faith. He thirsts for the Gospel undiluted." The second part of the commitment is for the *supernatural to be incarnate into the temporal.* First of all in the realm of thought: "Scholars, philosophers, sociologists of all countries, will furnish theologians with the results of their efforts. *All men,* without discrimination can help. . . ." All questions should be examined and studied in Christian terms. This is already being done by a pleiad of world famous scholars and thinkers in the scientific, literary, esthetic and philosophic fields. What is true in the realm of thought is true of all men's activities—urbanism, economic life, "politics" in the broad sense of international exchanges, culture, education, leisure, etc. "Christians should not be afraid to be less Christian by being more men." Hence the necessity of a study and a profound reform of existing *structures* in all fields. For instance, regarding business, the Cardinal recalls that the Assembly of Cardinals and Archbishops of France

* Growth or Decline? The Church Today. Emmanuel Cardinard Suhard. Translated by James A. Corbett; Foreword by John Courtney Murray. Fides. $2.00.

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in February, 1945, reminded business leaders "simply but strongly, of the principle of a more and more definite orientation of the relations of capital and labor towards the partnership contract." Already "courageous business leaders in close contact with the working classes have listened to the pressing voice of the Church of France. . . . They are working boldly in their ideas and achievements, to renovate, in this direction, the spirit and the structure of their enterprises by associating the workers with its management, its property and its fruits." The task of the Christian is not to "follow but to lead." The "Christian idea of human nature and it alone, will prevent the dehumanization of man." All else falls short, whether it be the "anarchy of economic liberalism which makes struggle the law of progress, or the state socialistic conception in which individual liberty is absorbed to the profit of an anonymous power."

The work to be done through the two-fold total commitment has to be done *communally,* in teams. This reminds us of the Cardinal's words at Colombes sport stadium in 1946: "You cannot succeed while alone. In our times everything is done communally. The cell, for the apostolate, is no longer the individual, but the team." Natural communities, family, those living in the same building, the neighborhood, can be used, provided the community does not close upon itself.

The work is to pivot on the *working class.* "This realistic incarnation without overlooking anybody, must be based primarily on the working class." At this point, anyone who has read the Letter so far cannot be tempted of accusing the Cardinal of being prompted by cleverness, or fear, or both. He has made it very plain that this concern is not catering to old or new systems. The problem is the new man of the rushing-in planetary civilization. If the work of the Christians is to be pivoted on the working class it is because the working class has been cut off from the Church so long. Already much is being done in France along that line, as the Cardinal points out—the French and Paris Missions with their priest-workers, their emphasis on living the life of friendship, the parishes seeking to become truly the spiritual expression of the community, the participation of the people in the liturgy, the countless vocations, not only sacerdotal and religious, but of laymen intent on the integration of their spiritual and daily life in our present world.

Calling all Christians to this work for the "Christian Summa of this world in the making," the Cardinal outlines the essential characters of this spiritual synthesis: This spirituality is to be *catholic,* that is, the result of the efforts of all, addressing itself to all, and welcoming all authentic values. This spirituality will be a total spirituality, the kind modern man is waiting for, a spirituality "truly *cosmic,* that is, it will envisage the universe as a whole such as God willed to epitomize in Jesus Christ." Such spirituality points out and justifies the participation in the temporal of the Christian, since by so doing he believes in and works for the fulfilment of creation, the "achievement of the total Christ." This spirituality is centered on the *person.* "It is for man that the City is to be built. The City is built for him, for it will pass, while he will survive in his immortal soul and even in the resurrection of the flesh, in his body, an extension of the here-below." This spirituality remains *conscious of sin.* The Golden Age is not a moment in

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history brought about ineluctably by technical progress, or endlessly postponed because of the infinity of liberty. It is the removal of sin.

The Cardinal closes with words of hope: Already, "new messianisms betray, for those who can see, visible signs of exhaustion. The Church would smother in these messianisms, all sealed and distorted. Her youth rejects their age. Today, as before, the world will not be saved from the deluge without the Ark."

CLAIRE HUCHET BISHOP.

More Books

The Rise and Fall of Third Parties, From Anti-Masonry to Wallace. William B. Hesseltine. Public Affairs Press. $2.50.

EVOLVED from articles in the *Progressive* and lectures delivered at the University of Maryland, this book by Professor Hesseltine of the University of Wisconsin offers a rapid, personalized and assertive survey of third parties and their marked contributions to American political growth. Certainly third parties and dissenting minorities on the Supreme Court have marked the ways of progress in the march of social justice, democracy in action, human rights, and the theoretical freedoms in practice. Major parties lead few crusades, unless it be a major party composed of conflicting minorities to be appeased, and then the cry for fair practices may be campaign oratory or postponed until after November. Doctor Hesseltine instructs and provokes—let us say when he belittles Theodore Roosevelt as a progressive—and appears somewhat forgetful that his era was in the remote past when the people ate meat and butter. The tone of the chapters is liberal, but more in the center than toward the left. More and more, one realizes the significance of the Congressional elections of 1946 on men and policies, domestic and foreign. The book is not conventional, nor have the leaders of third and splinter parties run in harnessed conformity with the mores of their communities or of the bosses of the parties from which they seceded.

Professor Hesseltine's pages on the Socialistic parties, the New Deal, Past and Present, and the Wallace movement are especially enlightening, considering limitations of space and the necessity for generous generalizations. Some of the asides, safer in speech than in print, will arouse readers from their customary lethargy, as that "the Tobin interests drove the Trotskyites out of the Minneapolis truck drivers' union and railroaded their leaders to jail for treason," or a reference even in quotes to the "gutter socialists" of the Midwest, or the New Deal's march to welfare-statism, or the unrepresentative character of our delegates to UN, or a reference to "multiplied irresponsible bureaucratic agencies." Not every Democrat will agree that President Hoover's "methods were sounder than Republican Coueism or New Deal Improvizations." Indeed, Professor Hesseltine writes: "that the New Deal was in some respects a failure from the beginning . . . because its experiments and its expedients were designed for political effect . . . because it departed from the fundamental concepts of the American progressive tradition." Social legislation without democracy, he describes as an opiate for the people. "Steadily the New Deal moved away from the democratic freedom," and in due time, it "used the Army against recal-

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citrant corporations," sought "to bring labor under the executives' control" and "insisted upon peacetime conscription for American youth"—this for Dr. New Deal as a homeopath with no intelligible treatment, only offering political pills for the social and economic ills of a nation. And then came Henry Wallace.

The inconsistencies of Wallace, disciplined along with Jesse Jones and discarded in 1944 by Roosevelt, the city machines, and Southern conservatives, offer the theme of a few pages which the Wallace forces will never print as a campaign document. Yet, one wonders if Wallace can fairly be denounced for his reversing position in this world of confusion. No reader will waste time in perusing this volume and continuing to more intensive studies to be found through its excellent bibliography.

RICHARD J. PURCELL.

Normandy to the Baltic. Field Marshal the Viscount Montgomery of Alamein. Houghton. $5.00.

FOR SUCH a colorful personality as Marshal Montgomery, this is really a colorless book—that is as writing, as journalism, as a human document. But it is a magnificent operations report, obviously compiled from twenty-one Army Group daily reports and weekly summaries, with only occasional additions in the form of "reflections" by the Field Marshal. It is amply provided with maps and situation reports, and carries the reader through the European campaign with a kind of overwhelming thoroughness. If you aren't a student of tactics by the time you are one-third through the book, then you really don't have any interest in the whole thing anyway. But if you survive the first third, and decide to really plunge, you will become an avid staff officer and strategist, full of plans and techniques, and replete with both the Allies' and the enemy's order of battle.

This is mainly the story of 21 Army Group, but Montgomery covers the action of the Americans, briefly but rather completely. His whole tone is that of a lecturer at a command and general staff school, and he is a very thorough lecturer indeed. The only time Montgomery allows himself any loosening up is when he is discussing, in the reflections, some rather intricate judgments that occurred during the various phases of the campaign. He says several times that the concept of the American breakout and the British pin-down in Normandy was well foreseen, indeed even planned, by himself in determining the great strategy of the Normandy campaign. (He was the assault ground commander.) And such things as the difficult closing of the Falaise-Argentan gap were really unavoidable. He adds, too, to the saga of the Ardennes, with a very detailed operational and logistical report, plus a handsome declaration concerning the Americans: "The battle of the Ardennes was won primarily by the staunch fighting qualities of the American soldier. . . ."

T. E. CASSIDY.

The World Is Not Enough. Zoe Oldenbourg. Pantheon. $3.75.

THE WORLD IS NOT ENOUGH is a young, fresh book by a young Russian who lives in France, about the Middle Ages and the Crusades. It is a refreshingly unsentimental re-creation of medieval life, which makes that remote period and the people in it come alive as if they were our contemporaries.

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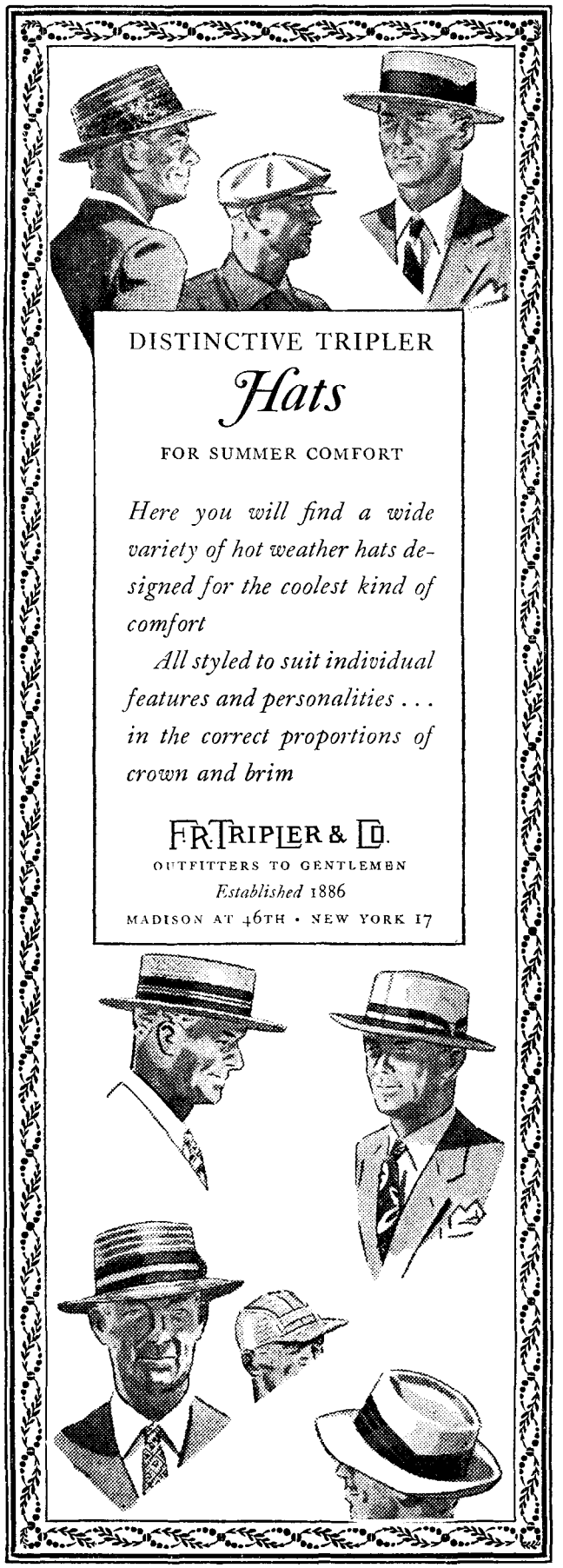
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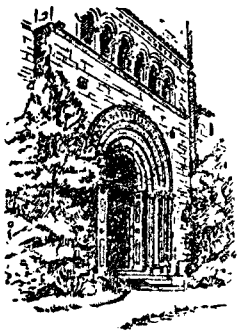

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de Puiseaux to sixteen-year-old Ansieu de Linnieres, future lord of the manor, hurried to give grandchildren to an impatient old man. It goes on with the life of the couple during the forty years of their marriage in a poor baron's castle. Many of the problems in the 12th century are much like our own problems: Alis and Ansieu love and fight each other, they are attracted to other men and women, they worry about their children becoming knights, marrying or not marrying, they never have enough money and have to borrow from the usurer, the husband goes off to the Crusades, that is, war, when the wife thinks he should stay home and mind their property.

There are too many people and too many side plots in the story to make it exciting as a novel of character. The pleasure is different: in a minutely detailed and colorful description of everyday life we have the smells and sounds of the castle, the wonderful lack of prudishness, the hunting, feuding and tournaments which alone made the endless work and tedium of that uncomfortable period tolerable. The author has a nice light touch with the dialogue. The descriptions of the Crusades are very good and realistic. However, they don't come off as well as the rest of the book because they fail to suggest that the knights went to the Holy Land for other reasons—religious ones—than being bored at home.

Another criticism of "The World Is Not Enough" is that there is little mention of the Faith of the Middle Ages. Their religion is represented as the casual Catholicism of some "Latin" country, but not as the powerful driving force it really was.

The book would have been very greatly improved by a good deal of cutting. Five hundred closely printed pages make for an endless amount of repetition, which dulls and slows an otherwise very bright book. The translation, by Willard A. Trask, is good.

NIKA STANDEN.

The Memoirs of Cordell Hull. (Two Volumes). Macmillan. $10.50.

THE political career of the wartime Secretary of State unfolds here in unadorned detail and requires nearly 1,800 pages. It began, when he was only twenty-one, in the Tennessee legislature, and included a quarter century in Congress. As a summary of the period these directly-told memoirs will be of particular interest to the professional historian; they include numerous quotations from Mr. Hull's own speeches and official papers.

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